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# LEADERSHIP



Addresses by  
**DR. WU YI - FANG** and  
**WENDELL L. WILLKIE**



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## — FOREWORD —

A WORLD CHRISTIANITY MEETING, under the auspices of The Board of Foreign Missions at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, was held in the Masonic Temple Auditorium in Detroit, Michigan, on Monday evening, May 31st, 1943. Over five thousand people were present.

The meeting was opened with worship conducted by officers of the Assembly, the Church, and the Board. Massed choirs of Detroit rendered Gounod's "Unfold Ye Portals" and Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" and led in the singing of great "Hymns for World Christians."

Representative Christian missionaries from across the world were presented to the audience, as silent prayer was offered for their colleagues and for the churches of lands where Christians face terrible testing and tremendous opportunity at this crucial hour in world history.

The speakers were Dr. Wu Yi-fang and Wendell L. Willkie. Their addresses are printed herewith and are commended to everyone as pertinent and courageous messages of insight and faith concerning certain important aspects of the place and power of Christian leadership in the world of today and tomorrow.

**Dr. Wu Yi-fang** one of China's most distinguished women, has been president of Ginling College since 1928, and is one of the five chairmen of the People's Political Council. Dr. Wu has been closely identified with education in China since she was graduated from Ginling College as a member of the first graduating class in 1919.

In 1922 Dr. Wu entered the University of Michigan, receiving her Master's Degree in 1924 and her Ph.D. in 1928, then returning to China to take up her work in Ginling College.

Dr. Wu has been president of Ginling College during the period of its greatest growth. Under her leadership the curriculum of the college was expanded, the faculty increased, new buildings constructed and, at the time of Japan's invasion of China, Ginling had become one of China's greatest colleges and its largest college for women. In 1937 Dr. Wu organized the trek of Ginling students and faculty from Nanking into the west. Leaving the city by river steamer, bus, donkey, and on foot the students arrived in Szechwan early in the fall of 1938. They had covered 2500 miles in this heroic trek.

Dr. Wu has been closely associated with the great Christian movements of China and the world. She has been a leader in China's New Life Movement, is Chairman of the China National Christian Council, and in 1938 led the China delegation at the International Missionary Conference held at Madras. She was the first woman ever to lead such a group of delegates from the Younger Churches.



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# CHINESE CHRISTIANS TODAY

by DR. WU YI-FANG

I APPRECIATE greatly the honor and privilege of speaking to this national Assembly. First I wish to extend greetings on behalf of the National Christian Council of China. Through the difficult years of war, when our work has been so much interrupted, we have been grateful for your sympathy and support and deeply aware of the bonds of Christian fellowship between us and of the help which your prayers for the Christian movement in China have given.

Also on behalf of Ginling College I bring greetings. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church has been one of our supporting boards from the very beginning. Furthermore the founder and first president of Ginling, Mrs. Lawrence Thurston, was a missionary from your Board. Her vision of higher education for the women of China made possible the founding of such a college as early as 1915.

For myself personally I wish to thank you for the confidence you have placed in me from the time I was elected president of Ginling. I am grateful for the continued support of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions through all these years.

The theme this evening is World Christianity. As a "Younger Church" the Chinese church is one of the fruits of the great world missionary movement in modern times. It seems fitting, therefore, that I should say a few words about the Christian church in wartime China.

Firstly, during these nearly six years of war the Christian church has become more widely known in China through the various forms of service it has rendered. Literally millions of people have been reached in war-stricken areas and in the great hinterland. The many deeds of sacrificial service demonstrated that Christians practiced what they preached. When a locality was threatened by Japanese invasion, missionaries and their Christian colleagues were ready to shelter the refugees, help the wounded soldiers, care for the air-raid victims, or plan for safety zones when and where possible. The work of the International Relief Committees in Shanghai and in Nanking is well known to you, but even in small places the Christian groups always rendered outstanding relief. Women were given protection, children were fed, and older boys and girls given education. Whenever possible, projects of work-relief were developed and vocational training given to those widowed or orphaned to help them become self-supporting.

In Free China churches have been strengthened through their own increased efforts to meet emer-

gency needs and also through the addition of members from the occupied regions. New congregations have been formed, gathering together the wandering Christians from widely scattered churches in occupied areas. The most recent case I happen to know is that of the church organized in March in Ko Lo Shan, a suburb of Chungking. In support of the national policy of resistance and reconstruction, Christian organizations have contributed their share in war relief, in rehabilitation, projects for refugees, and in the training of youths in schools and colleges. Many times projects initiated by Christians, such as the "Friends of the Wounded," have become nationwide movements because of the tremendous response from the community and government, as well as from the churches.

Christians have also helped directly in government programs. For instance, when "The Peoples" Principles Youth Corps (San Ming Chu I Youth Corps) gave training classes, Bishop W. Y. Chen, General Secretary of the National Christian Council, was invited to give talks both moral and religious in nature. During the past two years Dr. Frank Price and the Rev. Newton Chiang were invited to serve as advisers at the summer camps of the San Ming Chu I Youth Corps.

It may be of interest to mention the government's attitude toward the activities of the

church. Before leaving Chungking I had an interview with Mr. Chen-kong Ku, the Minister of Social Affairs. He made the clear statement that he would welcome the co-operation of and contributions from the Christian churches. Because of their spirit of service and their long experience, he feels that they will be of much help to him in working out policies and methods for social welfare development. I should add that this Ministry was established only two years ago and may be considered a result of modern warfare, involving the total population of a nation. But to us Christians what is significant is that Christ's way of life is being considered by the government as the basis of human security within the nation and internationally.

Secondly, the Christian church has become not only more widely known, but also better understood and appreciated. This is because the Christian religion has proved a light in the midst of darkness. War brings destruction and suffering which is contrary to the human instinct to create and enjoy life. Normal people find it hard to go through a war. Even during the past few weeks since my arrival in the United States I have repeatedly heard people wishing to be out of this mess soon. It is only natural to feel so after one and a half years in the war, but how much harder has it been for us to go through war on our own soil for six long years! We Chinese are patient



and can endure resolutely, but it is the Cross of Jesus that has taught us the deeper meaning of suffering. Thus in the midst of gloom and pain, Christians have shown their strength through their unshakeable faith in God and the redemptive power of our Lord. Both missionaries and Chinese Christians have risked their lives and died for the sake of others. Yet they died gladly, unafraid of physical death and confident in the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness.

To illustrate further what Christianity has meant and is able to do, I refer to a few individuals and their experience.

Only recently in Chungking I heard from two high officials the following experience. Several years ago in their city after tremendous destruction by fire which left tens of thousands of people in need of immediate relief, these two officials were given the responsibility of making plans for the necessary relief, which must be given in cash. With no time for sleep and no way of getting the cash from neighboring cities, these two men, who were Christians, were driven to their knees in earnest prayer. Both experienced definite spiritual guidance in the difficult task that was theirs. They conceived of using plain white paper stamped with the official seal in place of bank notes. Such was the confidence they inspired that, in spite of the large crowds and the small number of police, order was well kept and the morale of the people was lifted to the highest level.

Next may I refer to some quiet work in a small village in the country. I think of a graduate of Ginling who was on the staff of our rural service station in a county seat. The head of a village several miles away saw the work in the town and asked for our station to send workers to his village. Two graduates were sent at the beginning, but only one could be spared to stay on. This one then had the help of only two local girls. Very soon she was accepted in that village as chief adviser on all sorts of problems—educational, social, economic, religious, and even medical. Furthermore, she trained the local leaders on the new *hsien* (township) system in civic matters. As a result of her work the farmers became enterprising. They initiated the organization of a co-operative and put up the thatched roof building with materials contributed from the village. After a year and a half of quiet work by this young woman, the head of the village is proud to call his a model village. She serves to represent the type of young people with earnest desire to render service to the less-privileged.

To illustrate the way this Christian spirit of service works in larger groups, I would like to refer to the Students' Summer Service Corps to the tribespeople on the Szechwan border. These groups are usually organized under the leadership of professors with the double purpose of gathering information—social, economic, geo-

graphical—and rendering service to the local people. At the same time it is educational for a great deal is learned from coming in contact with the tribespeople. What their service meant to the people is shown by the fact that they were invited to come back every summer and the tribespeople wanted them to stay throughout the year. They rendered immediate service by giving medical care, conducting classes, and giving the gospel message. At the same time the groups were able to gather scientific data about the locality and the people.

Lastly I wish to refer to the Self-dedication Movement. We all realize how important the clergy is in the building up of the church. In China because of the tradition of the Buddhist and Taoist religions, the priest has not had a position of prestige. So Christian ministers have had a difficult task in building up their work without the proper attitude toward their position and profession. Naturally under such circumstances young men have not been attracted to the ministry or other types of Christian service. Two years ago the Self-dedication Movement was started and by the end of 1942 the total number of people who had signed dedication cards was 292. Of this number 178 were men and 114 were women. Thirty-three of them signed for life work, and 259 as lay workers. Thus within the church there is this movement for the train-

ing of leadership for the further advancement of Christianity.

Indeed a new age is dawning for Christianity in the post-war China. Together with other democracies, China has been fighting against aggression and brute force. In order to contribute her share as a worthy member of the United Nations, China desires first to strengthen and develop herself as a modern nation. In the enlarged program of development there will be increased need for well-qualified men and women. Furthermore the colossal task of rehabilitation after so many years of war will necessitate leadership not only with technical knowledge but also with genuine Christian ideals. This is a strategic time for Christian colleges and universities to provide more and stronger leaders both missionary and Chinese. As Christians who already have a sense of fellowship in Christ which is beyond racial or nationalistic lines, we have a special responsibility in the efforts toward planning a new world by the different nations to see that Christ's way of life is given consideration as a basis not only for individual lives but for all human relationships.

As a small unit in World Christianity the "Younger Church" in China looks to the "Older Churches" for continued help and inspiration. The Christian church has given tremendous and lasting service to the Chinese people in our life and death struggle and we look to the Christian



philosophy of life for the future. Through the common experience of tragic suffering, we are all resolved to win an enduring peace. Out of the traditions of China, we Chinese Christians seek to bring to the new age our contribution of tolerance and love of peace. In conclusion I quote a short prayer written by the Archbishop of Canterbury for an English newspaper: "Lord, make me worthy of peace."

**Wendell L. Willkie** on August 26, 1942, left the United States to see the world and the war, its battle fronts, its leaders, and its people. Forty-nine days later he arrived in this country, having traveled 31,000 miles and having flown around the world.

During this "goodwill" flight Mr. Willkie met great leaders of great nations—Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, King Farouk, the Prime Minister of Turkey—but more important, during this time in these same nations he talked with teachers, soldiers, librarians, factory workers, farmers, boys and girls in the streets, families in the homes, and Christian missionaries. With his return to America Mr. Willkie has brought a keen awareness of the importance of individual leadership throughout these momentous days.

Mr. Willkie is a native of Indiana. He is a graduate of Indiana University and has received an LL.D. from his Alma Mater, from Colgate University, Dartmouth College, Yale University, Bowdoin College, and Rutgers University and a Sc.D. from Stevens Institute of Technology. At present he is a member of an outstanding law firm in New York City.

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# LEADERSHIP FOR TOMORROW

by **WENDELL L. WILLKIE**

**W**HEN I was invited to appear before this Assembly, I hesitated to accept. For I was acutely reminded of the words of an eminent preacher who said, "The doctrine is easy enough to preach; it only becomes difficult afterward." It has seemed to me, however, that there is a subject about which I might appropriately speak to you.

One of the effects of the struggle for the world's freedom, in which we are engaged, has been to make everyone look *forward*. Sometimes we look forward with dread; sometimes—and more often, I think—with great hope. I am one who looks forward with hope. Yet if our hope is to have any chance of being realized, we must be able to count upon certain capabilities in our people, and in other people elsewhere.

It is about one of those capabilities, perhaps the most important of them all for our future welfare, that I want to speak to you tonight. It is the quality of leadership. By this, I do not mean the leadership of those few individuals who find their way to the top. To lean too heavily on that kind of leadership is to pervert the democratic meaning of leadership—a perversion which has been carried to its extreme in the German state.

Leadership, as I am thinking of it, is a quality that any man or woman may be called upon to exercise during his lifetime. It may extend no further than providing a leadership for your own boys and girls, to give them something to look up to, some personal standard for their lives—such as my father gave me. Or it may extend to some broader field—to your church, your business, your community. I think it is characteristic of our republican form of government that every citizen among us has the opportunity of leadership and few can escape its obligations, however humble. The acceptance of such obligations is basic to our very conception of life.

As you know, I have recently returned from a trip around the world. And one of my keenest impressions from that trip, after talking to hundreds of persons, important and unimportant, is that people all over the earth are awakening to this kind of individual leadership that we know so well here in America. All over the earth people are breaking the old bonds; the bonds, for instance, of imperialistic domination; the bonds of ancient priestcraft, so especially marked in the Moslem countries; the bonds—as in China—of old traditions now obsolete. All over the earth there is a ferment, not just of masses, but of individuals, millions of them, who are acquiring new individual hopes and are preparing to accept the individual responsibilities that support such hopes.



This new awakening, this democratic ferment, is closely bound in with a fact to which I have often referred since my return. I mean the existence of almost universal goodwill toward the United States of America. Without this goodwill, I would be fearful that this war will be only another war, tragically, because uselessly, fought. I see this goodwill as a cement, binding the nations of the earth together. And the most important hope I have, as I look forward, is that this cement shall hold.

Undoubtedly, after the war, we face a period of demoralization. An effort of such magnitude as this war, involving so many people and such intense passions, must produce emotional, psychological, and moral reactions. That period will be critical for all of us. It will be critical for the United States. It will be critical for the cause of freedom. In that period, the democratic ferment of which I have spoken might well degenerate into chaos. And in that chaos the United States would inevitably become involved. The cause of freedom, even here among us, might well be lost. This is, surely, a danger that we face. And as I see it, our chief insurance against such a calamity is this goodwill—this cement which now binds so many peoples together in a common faith in America. Only if the cement holds, only if the goodwill continues to bind, can we hope in the future to build strongly enough to support freedom—and well-being—and human faith.

Now this goodwill toward the United States is the result of many factors; all created for the most part not by a few selected official leaders but by a multitude of Americans who in industry, agriculture, education, the arts, medicine, science, and religion have exercised the qualities of individual leadership around the world. For instance, as I have pointed out, other people admire our wonderful industrial development, but are watching to see how widely we diffuse its benefits among our own people. Our motion pictures, even when they are presenting our less glamorous conditions, portray for them what seems to these people an almost fabulous standard of living that has come in the wake of that industry: the people of other lands want to emulate that standard. Even more important, they know that, however good or bad our international policies, we have no desire to rule, own, or control them. They have confidence in us because they know that however powerful we may become, we do not want to enslave them.

Those are some of the reasons for the existence of this goodwill toward America, so indispensable to world recovery. But there is another reason, one of particular interest to this group tonight.

Back in my home town in Indiana when I was a boy, we were always raising funds for foreign missions. Our Sunday schools provided us with books on foreign lands written by returning missionaries. They stimulated our interest in foreign

countries, especially China, and we all gave our small contributions for the work that those Americans were doing.

In later years, I have sometimes wondered about the wisdom of foreign missions. In the light of the great teachings and the age-old civilizations of the East, it has sometimes seemed to me presumptuous, on our part, to aspire to convert the entire world to our particular religious views.

But on my recent trip, I saw at first hand a multitude of concrete instances which convinced me of the value of foreign missions both to the lands they serve and to the cause of goodwill for America. Everywhere I went I found American colleges, schools, hospitals, and churches, many of them supported by the churches of this land. I found American missionaries, men and women, exerting a leadership—a human and personal leadership—which I have no hesitation in characterizing as vital to the future hopes, not alone of other nations, but of our own United States.

It is difficult to find words to describe the effect of these missionaries upon an American traveler. I cannot possibly hope to convey to you what it means after flying over thousands of miles of uninhabited mountains and desert to reach a small town, or maybe a great historic city of glamorous legend; to be greeted at an airfield by the local dignitaries; and to find, in a milling crowd of thousands of people dressed in strange garbs,

speaking strange tongues, a little group of American missionaries, maybe half a dozen, or ten, or twenty, with their wives and children, who have come in from miles around. There they stand, clean, fresh, healthy, familiar, respected by all for their kindliness.

I asked people in every land whether they were not resentful that these foreigners should invade their country. The answer was universal enthusiasm for what American missionaries have done and for the lives they lead.

The missionaries are not resented, but respected and admired. This is because they have contributed so much more than mere preachment. As individuals they have exercised qualities of leadership in tiny villages and remote spots throughout the world. Their kindliness is proverbial. They have brought with them a high standard of health, of cleanliness and medical care. They have brought also a standard of character that has helped to awaken in age-old, habit-ridden communities a new sense of self-respect and well-being.

Furthermore, the missionaries have everywhere stimulated a desire for education—not mere dusty scholarship, but reading and writing, the arts and sciences, living knowledge that binds men together. When Hitler wanted to prepare his people for war, he burned the books. We who want to prepare for peace must open them—open them all over the earth. China, for example, is



now going through a kind of educational revolution, with millions going to school. It is this process that has made China today no longer a nation of inert masses, but a nation of individuals—individuals who are willing to fight and die for a future of freedom. They are just beginning to glimpse a future which they know is inevitably tied with the Western democracies. The germ of this process, in my judgment, was planted fifty, sixty years ago, under the patient work and leadership of men and women who received little acclaim and no reward except the satisfaction of accomplishment. All America knows some of their sons and daughters. Pearl Buck's father was one of them; and Henry Luce's.

American missionaries and American schools and colleges have played a similar role elsewhere. Turkey has become one of the most modern of nations. She has adapted many of our Western institutions to her own chosen way of life; and she has acquired social and economic standards that are amazingly congenial with ours. Today she withstands the onslaught of Axis propaganda and Axis pressure. She turns in her thinking to the Western world to which her neutrality has been a bulwark. One of the big factors in this attitude has been Robert College at Istanbul, where thousands of young Turks have received a Western education.

This kind of work, in which our American missionaries have been so loyal and conscientious, is

a fine example of what I mean by leadership. The missionaries themselves are leaders—but that is not all the point. They teach the people to provide their own leadership. They develop within their missions a sense of well-being, of self-reliance, of self-respect; others in nearby communities are awakened to these new forces; the movement, constantly nourished by Western ideals, spreads outward to revitalize an entire nation. That is the practical and living process that has been going on now for decades. And that, I believe, is one of the chief causes for the goodwill toward the United States that now exists in almost every corner of the earth.

Furthermore, it is multiplicity of leadership exercised by thousands of men and women that is responsible for one of the most striking contrasts in the Far East today. In Japan, Western education, Western industrial development were welcomed more eagerly and earlier than in China. But they were imposed upon the people from the top by the leadership of a ruling clique who were interested solely in the commercial, mechanical, and military advantages to be derived from these new ideas. In China, these same ideas spread slowly through the people, initially under the leadership of missionary educators, doctors, and religious teachers who were primarily interested in ethics, culture, and ways of living. Consequently, in Japan, tyrants perverted the great power of modern industrialization to efficient,

mechanized barbarism. In China, the people, through their own leaders, have found in Western ideas the way to individuality and freedom.

But we do not have to go to ancient China or the Far East to know the multiplying benefits of leadership which springs from the people. In every phase of our own life, the results are abundantly evident. Sometimes our leadership finds its expression in mechanical invention. In fact we have been rich in that type of leadership. The Wright brothers, for instance, without subsidy or help, without even the encouragement of approval or of recognition through sheer inventive genius, solved the problems of the motorized airplane. That first flight on December 17, 1903, in a plane so slight that Wilbur Wright standing on the ground could reach up and steady its wings as it took off from a mono-rail, was the beginning of our great air fleets today—of the giant transport planes that carry in their bellies hundreds of men and tanks; of the powerful fighting and bombing planes that every day bring nearer our victory over our enemies; of the commercial airways that are so dramatically reducing the size of the world by their quick spanning of continents and oceans.

Sometimes among the unrecognized and humble people who have built this country, we find a political leader, a Lincoln whose heart even in the fires of war remained unseared by hate. And when the people have been sorely troubled, from

their midst has come a Whitman to lift their spirits in songs of freedom.

Sometimes the leadership that springs from our people is a moral leadership, as when a woman, driven by a great indignation and a great sympathy, writes of the cruelties and indignities of slavery in a way to arouse the conscience of the Western world in an "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a classic in the literature of man's struggle for liberty.

Always our truest leadership has sprung from humble men and women who were free to develop themselves and to express their ideas.

Now and then we hear it argued that some present advantage suggests the substitution of leadership from the top. The pressure of critical circumstances is urged; the inability of a democracy to act quickly and effectively. That is an insidious argument. That is the voice of our destruction. We must at all hazards keep our leadership among the people, for it is the priceless ingredient of democracy. At its best it is based on the principles of truth and justice by which nations must live as well as individuals.

I am not speaking in any doctrinaire sense. I am not advocating the dogma of any particular church. To be perfectly honest with you, I would say that the churches of our time have not always succeeded in making men aware of the fact that principles should be applied, not just



preached. The churches of this land should encourage among their members a high sense of personal leadership. For it is such personal leadership as exists in every decent American home that, multiplied many times, safeguards our town leadership, our state leadership, our national leadership.

I believe the churches should be exacting of public leaders, not by petty interference with their personal and private lives, but by measuring their responsible public acts against the yardstick of the very truths which the church teaches.

The leadership of men who practice the forms of religion, who exhibit the requirements of church membership and attendance but in their official acts and statements cynically violate the simple moral principles and verities; who say one thing and do another; who publicly pray and privately scorn; vote-catching leadership, the leadership of compromise, the leadership of expediency—these lead us nowhere. These open the way to chaos, not to progress.

Today our energies, our minds, our hearts are consumed by the urgencies of the war we are fighting. But our hopes turn to the future. Deep in our consciousness we find ourselves saying again and again: "When the war is over—" and, tentatively, fearfully, like children with their fingers crossed, we begin to plan our personal lives. But we are beginning to realize that we can make no plans, we can have no personal lives if


the world around us is not at peace. Let's go a little further in our thinking.

We know that when the Allied armies have destroyed the organized forces of tyranny and cruelty and evil in this world, we shall have a technical peace. The fighting will be over. But how can we make that peace real; how can we make that peace enduring?

There will be conferences to solve these problems; there will be official discussions, appointed commissions. These things must be; they are the machinery by which nations function.

But if we are intent on establishing in this world a future where men can live in peace and enjoy the benefits of modern civilization, if we wish once more to be able to plan our lives without an overhanging burden of fear, we cannot rely merely upon governmental forms or world councils or the intricacies of diplomacy. A world of peace and well-being, to survive, must rest upon and be suffused with those age-old principles which this and other churches have been teaching throughout the centuries. It must find its inspiration in the leadership of a multitude of people who to Cain's ancient question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" have the courage to answer "yes."

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